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SPANISH POLITICS.

LETTER FROM EMILIO CASTELLAR.

THE CARLIST INSURRECTION—COURT CONSPIRACIES—THE ZORILLA CABINET—THE ATTITUDE OF THE REPUBLICANS.

FROM THE REGULAR CORRESPONDENT OF THE TRIBUNE.

MADRID, June 22.—The history of Spanish politics in recent days is truly dramatic. The Conservative party obtains possession of the Government through a long series of palace conspiracies, and from that moment both the tranquility of the public tranquillity, and the tranquillity of the public tranquillity, are in jeopardy. The work of the parties most devoted to establishing order, proves the radical change of ideas in our society. While the Conservatives are in power, they who appear most fitted to establish social stability, public order is disturbed, and while those most devoted to human progress are in command, the men who think least of the material disturbances which accompany reforms, tranquillity is reestablished. This proves, as a final result, that the present generations, educated by liberty for liberty, place above every principle or interest their rights, the first interest and the first principle of their lives.

But reflections are superfluous where facts abound. The first Cortes of the Democratic monarchy were dissolved, and the coalition of opposition parties succeeded. After that came violent elections; after them an insurrection of Carlists, which had seemed dead and buried in our soil. The Conservative party seemed to be isolated and smothered. Then came compromises like that of Amorevita, in which the commander-in-chief of the Conservatives abdicated his authority, treating the rebels as belligerents. After this compromise, the violent discussions on the message to the Crown, in which the intrigues of the reactionary party are disclosed; and after those discussions the fall of the Conservative party and the return to power of the Radicals, who had seemed excommunicated by the religious prejudices of the Queen, and proscribed by the arrogant spirit of the King.

I deeply regret that in speaking of the debates in the Chambers I have to speak somewhat of myself. You will permit me to omit any judgment in regard to my own work in giving you merely the facts, and to a knowledge of recent events, I, being Republican above everything, look at politics from the point of view of my own ideas. I predicted the instability of power from the fatal moment in which the new monarch arrived. I said what was inspired by my conscience against the reviving reaction. I drew a picture of the various violations of individual rights and universal suffrage. I criticized with severity the theoretic, military and foreign influences, which, forming as it were a second court around the King, have wounded at once the patriotic and national sentiment of a people so independent in character as ours.

The Chamber, the majority, the Government, felt the electric shock, not of my own words, not of my ideas, but of the words and ideas which I myself gathered from the public conscience. The majority that had been returned with such immense efforts on the part of the Government, and with such violation of the laws, showed by means of more or less prudent declarations that the idea of a restoration was cherished by very many. The orator who, during the discussions on the Constitution, maintained the banner of Prince Alfonso, constituted himself the defender of the Serrano Cabinet. Serrano, inheriting a policy as unpopular as that of Sagasta, undertaking to procure the condemnation of the illegal transfer of two millions from the treasury of the colonies to that of the secret funds—two millions which the public believed employed in corrupting votes at the late election; his authority completely lost by his unfortunate compromise of Amorevita, saw the revolution commencing its power around him, and found no means of counteracting it but a suspension of the constitutional guarantees, the liberty of printing, the security of the press, and the rights of the citizen.

In the mean while came distressing news from the Carlist front. Far from diminishing, they had increased. The loyalty shown to their army by Gen. Serrano had given them extraordinary encouragement. A terrible scene had taken place in the Biscayan Mountains. The most odious name to all Carlists is that of Maroto, the traitor who delivered up a numerous and well-disciplined army to the mercy of Gen. Espartero. The insurgents have stigmatized with the name of Maroto all those who contributed to the acceptance of the new compromise. Among the most notable of these were the chiefs called La Calle and son. Those who refused to sign the compromise, and who maintained the civil war in spite of it, went one day to the solitary cottage inhabited by the two chiefs. They came upon them by surprise. At the shouts of "King Carlos," uttered by the troops arriving, father and son turned pale at the sound of that illustrious and powerful name which had so often caused their hearts to leap within their breasts, full of religious and monarchical enthusiasm. The Carlists surrounded the house, and called to the La Calles to come forth. They understood promptly what was to be their inevitable fate. The father was an old man, though still robust as a mountain oak. The son was a young man of some thirty years, married, and with a numerous family of children. The father, with his grave Basquean severity said to the Carlists, "I know your intention and I have no doubt to make. Shoot me, if you please, but for God's sake pardon my son, whose life is the life also of a large family." The son, on the other hand, threw himself at the feet of his old companions in arms, seized their hands, kissed them with effusion, and begged them to shoot him and spare his father. Neither tears nor prayers had any effect upon the inexorable will of the guerrillas; father and son were remorselessly shot. Such are the horrors of civil war.

These regions of the North preserve true Spanish traditions. An immense labyrinth of mountains appear to oppose the breath of new ideas as cliffs oppose the waves of the sea. The Spanish coasts of the North have opened our peninsula to the Greeks, the Phoenicians, the Carthaginians, and the Romans, while the northern coasts have repulsed all invasions. In this strong and impregnable rock, it is plain to see that there has been no admixture of any other blood, or that it has subjected all others to its own physiologic type, and its own tenacious spirit. In like manner the Basque language is preserved a primitive tongue which they innocently believe to be a lost echo of paradise. They preserve their religious faith which has become extinguished in higher intelligences where the devouring spirit of our age has penetrated. The priesthood there retains a control over hearts and consciences unknown in the rest of Spain. Their only intellectual aim is the sermon in the Basque language, hermetically sealed to the modern spirit. This sermon draws its inspiration from blind faith, from the monarchical tradition, from the worship of the past, the most extreme superstition, from a belief in the immense practical power of the legendary and mythical devil in the spirit and the universe. It was a similar condition which produced the Vendean war which so agitated the disasters of the French revolution. Our northern peasants have been told that the religious unity is lost, that the Protestant and the Jew did shelter and build temples in the shadow of the Escaorial; that matrimony requires the civil as well as the religious sanction; and all these confused rumors falling from the pulpit excite and inflame their exalted fan-

cism for their ancient land-marks. There would be one means of correcting this propagation of public instruction; but the priest opposes a moral veto to the influence of the schoolmaster. The unfortunate Basque provinces! so strong, so vigorous, with high moral sentiments, great energy of character, free in their institutions and their nature, in their essence and in their traditions Republican provinces, and still bewitched by the religious spirit of the middle ages!

While I regret the object to which these fighting men have consecrated their faith, I cannot but admire it. Believing as firmly as they do, the act of compromise seems to them an act of weakness, and they imagine themselves superior to the spirit of the age. No man of heart can criticize the clemency employed with the Carlists, nor the words of pardon and amnesty. But it is incomprehensible that the Ministers of Gen. Serrano should decree an amnesty in favor of rebels and a dictatorship against those who obey the law. The Government, so clement toward the Carlists, prepared to take the severest measures against the Liberals. The majority of the Congress were ready to vote the Dictatorship. But the King, conscious of the coming of the tempest, and advised by an instinct of self-preservation superior to that of his ministers, refused to sign the decree which submitted to the Cortes the suspension of the habeas corpus. At this point the Conservative party fell at the same time with the most distinguished of its leaders. The first impression was one of terror among the conservative classes. No one believed, no one imagined that the Ministry, presided over by so formidable a chief, could fall after only 15 days in the Government.

The accession to power of the advanced party was inevitable. This party is composed of two groups, which together bear the name of the Radical party. One of these divisions embraces the considerable group which proceeds from the old Progressists, and the other a group which came from the old Democratic party. The Progressists brought to the present situation their traditions, their influence with the middle classes, who are attached to the modern revolution. The Democrats brought their ideas of natural rights and universal suffrage. The leader of both, who stands by common consent at the head of all, is Don Manuel Ruiz Zorrilla, who succeeded Gen. Serrano in the presidency of the Council.

Señor Ruiz Zorrilla is certainly not a man of the highest intelligence nor of remarkable eloquence. You will find in the Congress many superior to him in political foresight and in dialectic force. There are in Spain many public men, who from their works and their speeches, would seem to have higher claims than Ruiz Zorrilla for the position which he occupies. But if he is not a man of the most brilliant intelligence, he is certainly an eminent man of action. He organizes forces with remarkable celerity, and directs them with undeniable power. Highly impressionable, he regards recent services with profound gratitude, and forgets old injuries with equal facility. His energy in accomplishing his political purposes is only comparable to its intensity with his activity in attaining power and in preserving it afterward. He has an unusual love of popularity, and he is remarkably faithful to his friends and enthusiastic for his party and persons. The leadership of the Progressista party has always tempted him, and he hoped to obtain it even during the lifetime of Gen. Prim. When he died there was no one who could reasonably dispute it. Neither Rivero nor Martos could pretend to it, by reason of their democratic antecedents, which rendered them suspected of Republicanism in the eyes of the Progressistas. Nor could Sagasta claim it on account of his conservative tendencies, which were still more odious to the Progressistas. The chief of the Progressistas has many of the good qualities of his party, together with its defects. He is frank, honest, and sincere. He has few ideas; but on the other hand, he has an instinctive, and like all his instincts, persevering love of liberty. Whenever he finds himself in a situation in which his presence is indispensable, and where he does not attain the fulfillment of his political plans, Ruiz Zorrilla has recourse to abstention. When the two Generals Prim and Serrano, were maneuvering to present a candidature to the throne, after the disasters brought on by the fatal idea of the election of Hohenzollern, Ruiz Zorrilla retired to the Escaorial, and with his retirement imposed upon the two Generals the new candidate of King Amadeus. When the coalition of the three elements which contributed to the revolution was maintained by a Ministry of fusion, at whose head was Gen. Serrano, Ruiz Zorrilla broke the coalition with another retirement. And now, since the last retirement, has occurred the fall of the Conservative party and the nomination of the Radical party to a position which it had thought of obtaining only through the perilous road of revolution.

In spite of this new appointment Señor Ruiz Zorrilla does not maintain even an especially benevolent attitude toward King Amadeus. The Radicals think they have not accepted but have conquered the Government. A long series of sad disappointments has persuaded them that the King is, like all Kings, conservative, the friend of privilege and rank, the enemy of justice and of democracy. His sentiments, the education he has received, the natural bent of his disposition are conservative. A man of great courage, he has little intelligence and does not comprehend any thing of the current of ideas. Uniforms, reviews, target-shooting, absorb his time and give no opportunity to devote himself to study. Some time ago they took him to the new library of the Military Academy, hoping that he might assist by some contribution to the collection of books. Passing with wondering eyes by the almost vacant shelves, when some one complained of the scarcity of volumes, he said, "There are too many as it is."

If it is difficult even for the deepest penetration, I, considering hours to study and toil, to comprehend entirely the spirit of modern politics, in their richness and multifarious variety, how can they be comprehended by a king who gives no study whatever to them? The transformation of this absolutist society into a Democracy; those mysterious ways through which the Republic has arrived among a people so monarchical and so united as the French; the deadly struggle, now bitterer than ever, between the perishing English mystery and the working classes reclaiming their incontestable rights; the forces of decomposition which are dissolving the Austrian Empire, and the forces of reconstruction which are founding German unity; the restlessness of the Greek-Slavonian peoples who are stretched along the banks of the Danube and the shores of the Adriatic; the social movements of the Russian people complicated with critical problems interesting Europe as well as Asia; the modern spirit incarnate in America; this immense combination of facts, below which glimmers an immense series of ideas, demands that the chief of a great people should consecrate himself to study with a genuine and passionate devotion.

And this study would have taught him that Spain is to-day one of the nations most devotedly attached to liberty; it would have taught him that the recent reaction has destroyed his throne; that we are seeking today, in spite of any kings whatever, the close alliance of liberty and Democracy. His wife, the Queen Victoria, is a lady of severe domestic virtues, and of profound and extensive acquirements, but it is unfortunate that, educated in a Catholic family, a family of ecclesiastical principles, her religious devotion is fanatical, and she carries this devotion into the conduct of the plans of her husband, cardinal Rogers, an ardent, who exercises great influence in the Vatican, in Belgium, and now in Spain, leads the most reactionary and Jesuitical party of the Roman curia. By the side of this warlike prince, Antonio, is a compromising statesman of modern and almost revolutionary spirit. Morodo belongs to those whose only thought is at present to re-

store the ideal of the Middle Ages, as far removed from ours, if not by time and by space, at least by the successive evolution of the human conscience, as the ideal of the Asiatic peoples. The Cardinal's education has had great influence on a mind so tender and susceptible as that of Queen Victoria. It was through this influence, unquestionably, that Sagasta's Cabinet put into the Crown speech the subject of reconciliation with Rome. It was for this reason that such an impression was produced by the words in which I characterized this reconciliation as impossible. On the following day the monarchical journals, such as the *Imparcial*, paraphrased the picture which I had drawn in the *TRIBUNE* of the ineffectual prayers of the unfortunate Empress Carlota to obtain the abolition of the Emperor Maximilian, which I copy literally from my speech: "An unfortunate Empress, traversed the American seas, and the nations of Europe, went to St. Peter's, threw herself on her knees at the feet of the Pope, clasped her hands, addressed him with all the divine words which the passion of a woman and the affection of a wife could inspire, and the Pope would pardon her husband the crimes which he had committed against the revolution, the man whose sorrows awaited a Queen, or a Sophocles worthy to sing the words of this new Antiope, this new Ophelia, this woman now in issue and the future perhaps will call her, because of these tragic scenes, the mantle of the Vatican, the Emperor, the successor of Charlemagne, sustained the Pope. His mission was, we might say, the basis of the temporal throne of St. Peter, and although the Pope knew that the retirement of these laymen would be equivalent to the fall of his temporal power, he would never consent, under the tutelage of Napoleon, to any reform, nor to the satisfaction of any complaint."

The indifference of the King to modern ideas, the worship of the Queen for ancient ideas, the unhappy experience of the last few months, the conviction of the incompatibility between Democracy and the Monarchy, are alienating the Radical party from the Palace, and impelling it into the arms of the Republic. Its entire programme is one which directly leads it to our party. The abolition of conscription; the armament of the people, whether according to the Swiss or the Prussian manner; universal and gratuitous education; the extension of the suffrage to all; radical reforms; a sincere practice of universal suffrage; scrupulous respect for the independence of the municipalities and the provinces; complete democracy, which must necessarily seek its form and its appropriate organization in the Republic.

The picture does not lack shadows, nor deep ones. The dynasty will never cease to conspire against all the Liberal parties. The Republican party, convinced that the dynasty conspires, will not cease to conspire against the dynasty. The giddiness which comes from power, the great obstacles which are found in power, will, perhaps, impede the Ministry from carrying out the radical programme. Liberty means the elimination of the functions and prerogatives of Government. Now all Governments are inclined to preserve their prerogatives, their functions, and their authority. This much may be said in regard to the Ministers and the Republican Opposition.

As to the reactionary opposition, in my opinion it is not formidable, if the Government applies itself energetically to this radical programme. If the democratic influence is encouraged in all its tendencies, it will put a stop to the factions which still crown the fields of mountains of Navarra, and the fields of the mountains of Aragon, and the fields of the mountains of Castile, and the fields of the mountains of Catalonia. The preservers of the revolution, as they pompously call themselves, are threatening a retreat, which, in fact, is necessary to them, because, having come to the Cortes by virtue of administrative corruption, they would scarcely find today any districts which would return them. The Duke of Montpensier, after having contributed somewhat to the demolition of his nephew, Don Alfonso, publishes a manifesto, recognizing the rights of this illustrious prince, and his family, and the Conservatives publish another manifesto, declaring that they accept the regency of the Duke of Montpensier. All these united forces will necessarily have a great influence in the army, and this influence, sooner or later, will bring about a reactionary insurrection like that which in France ended the Republic on the 24th of December, and in Spain made way with the Progressista party in 1866.

In a crisis so grave, the advanced party which is today in power has need of the support of the Liberal masses, and the Liberal masses, in turn, need the support of the Republican party. But the Republican party is ready to give its blood for an idea which would give it generously with that courage and distinction which is characteristic of the illustrious Spanish race; but it will not and cannot give it for any king. I have believed from the first moment that as well for the establishment of liberty as for the establishment of order, as well for the foundation of authority as of Democracy, it is necessary, before all and above all, to secure the King. This people, and this people, by the great of the King, this people which has not received from the old society the education to which it has a right, still preserves in a high degree the worship of an ideal—will die for an idea whose worship has formerly appeared reserved especially for superior beings; it will fight and die for the supreme idea of liberty. This idea only can redeem our Spain, which deserves to see all her sacrifices repaid by the possession of all her rights.

INDIAN AFFAIRS.

GEN. HOWARD'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

WASHINGTON, July 6.—Gen. Howard has made his report to the Secretary of the Interior about his operations in Arizona. He believes Gen. Crook, the Commanding General, should have large discretionary power, as no one can do anything well bound hand and foot by a multitude of specific orders which may or may not be applicable to the circumstances. He recommends that the order relieving Gen. Crook from the operation of the telegram which suspended hostilities against those who refused to give up the Government, be confirmed, and that his hands be strengthened by allowing him an additional number of men, and that he be authorized to order any of his military duties.

A REASSURING REPORT.

SALT LAKE CITY, July 6.—The Salt Lake Herald's special says that Dodge has had an interview with the Indians reported to be hostile, and gives assurance that they have no hostile intentions.

THE EMMA MINE LITIGATION.

SALT LAKE CITY, July 6.—Judge McKean, to-day, fixed Thursday next for hearing the injunction case of the English Emma Mine Company against the Utah Copper Company, by an agreement of parties. Judge McKean visits the mining property on Monday next, together with a company of experts. The Emma party deny any offer of a compromise.

TELEGRAPHIC NOTES.

Ground will be broken for the North Pacific Railroad, at Saultelle, opposite San Francisco, today.

A complimentary dinner was given to the French Consul, at Boston, yesterday afternoon.

Thomas J. Rogers committed suicide at Saco, Me., on Saturday, by jumping into the Saco River at Island Falls.

It is reported that Congressman Elliott of South Carolina will appoint a colored boy as cadet midshipman at the Naval Academy.

The Crown Point Mining Company, at San Francisco, has declared a dividend of \$35, and the Becker one of \$34 per share.

The deaths in Philadelphia for the week ending July 5, were 109, on a population of 220,000, and over the same week last year of 284.

A dispatch from Constantinople announces that the Greek Government has been checked, after having been in the city for some time.

A portion of the Shawangunk tunnel, on the railroad, collapsed on Friday night, and passengers will be delayed for some time.

Mrs. Draka Mills, who fell from the Metropolitan Hotel window, at Washington, on the morning of July 4, and on Saturday last, died on Sunday.

Two convicts named Groody and Sheppard attempted to escape from the Oregon State Prison on Saturday. The guard shot Groody, killing him instantly, and Sheppard was captured.

Edward Smith (colored) was sentenced on Saturday to 12 years in the Penitentiary, for attempting to poison the family of G. M. Moore, in Germantown, a few months since.

The Postmaster General has ordered an extension of the new service on the Pacific coast, and has ordered the Pacific coast service to be extended to the Pacific coast.

BALTIMORE.

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION. SHALL THE CONVENTION INDOISE OR NOMINATE MR. GREELEY?—OPINIONS OF THE DELEGATES.—DEBATE TO DO THE BEST THING FOR ALL PARTIES.

TELEGRAPH BY THE TRIBUNE.

BALTIMORE, July 7.—The question of indorsement or nomination is the topic of greatest interest connected with the Convention, and is almost the only subject discussed to-day. There are a few men who are in favor of a third policy, namely, to pass a resolution declaring it inexpedient to make any nomination and adjourn forthwith, but that number is so small that they will exercise no appreciable influence in the Convention. It is nearly certain that Greeley and Brown will either be nominated in the regular way on the first ballot by a two-thirds vote, or that they will be indorsed and commended to the support of the Democratic party. The only question is which of these two courses is likely to command in the aggregate the largest number of Democratic and Liberal Republican votes. The delegates are earnestly canvassing the subject to-night and comparing views with each other. They eagerly question the few Liberals from the Northern States who are in the city to learn their opinions as to the course to be pursued. It is nearly certain that Greeley and Brown will either be nominated in the regular way on the first ballot by a two-thirds vote, or that they will be indorsed and commended to the support of the Democratic party. The only question is which of these two courses is likely to command in the aggregate the largest number of Democratic and Liberal Republican votes. The delegates are earnestly canvassing the subject to-night and comparing views with each other. They eagerly question the few Liberals from the Northern States who are in the city to learn their opinions as to the course to be pursued. It is nearly certain that Greeley and Brown will either be nominated in the regular way on the first ballot by a two-thirds vote, or that they will be indorsed and commended to the support of the Democratic party. 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